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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - (CAPTION)

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/17/2016
TAGS: [MASS](#) [MARR](#) [PREL](#) [PGOV](#) [ID](#)
SUBJECT: INDONESIA: CODEL FEINGOLD'S MEETING WITH DEFENSE
MINISTER JUWONO

Classified By: POLITICAL OFFICER RAYMOND RICHART. REASONS 1.4 (B) AND
(D).

11. (C) Summary: Indonesian Defense Minister told visiting Senator Russell Feingold that progress in the counterterrorism fight by Indonesian law enforcement authorities had disrupted terrorist groups in the country. Terror groups had financial difficulties, were less able to mount attacks and were now seeking targets of opportunity. Juwono described government plans for Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) counterterrorism assistance to the police, who nevertheless remained in the forefront of the CT effort. Juwono said only some five percent of TNI's budget now comes from its own businesses, and noted that he must now press Parliament to provide TNI adequate funding. Juwono told the Senator that Indonesia had the will to investigate and prosecute human rights abuses, but the country had "problems with the logistics of justice" due to limited resources. Juwono noted that Indonesia and East Timor sought "recuperative justice, not punitive justice" for abuses in East Timor and the two sides would look forward but not forget the past. Juwono described the range of developmental and other problems in Papua and acknowledged that individual members of the security forces commit abuses. Senator Feingold urged that Indonesian government open Papua to the press; Juwono responded that Indonesia needed in Papua to strike a balance between international human rights concerns and Indonesian sovereignty. Juwono assured Senator Feingold that if TNI personnel were implicated in the 2004 murders of two Americans in Timika, Papua, they would face prosecution. End Summary.

Appraisal of the Terror Threat

12. (C) Senator Russell Feingold, accompanied by the Ambassador and professional staffers Grey Frandsen and Evan Gottesman, told Indonesian Defense Minister Juwono Sudarsono February 23 that he believed things were going well in Indonesia and that many in Washington were encouraged. Consequently there was much to discuss. The Senator said he would like a sense of progress in the counterterrorism effort in the region and in Indonesia. Juwono responded that terror

networks were somewhat disrupted and less coordination now took place among terror groups in the region. Authorities had also made progress disrupting the groups' ideologies and structure, which also decreased coordination. The groups had financial difficulties and had resorted to theft for funding. The overall result was that in the Philippines and Indonesia, and to a lesser extent in Malaysia, terror groups were less able to mount planned attacks and were now looking for targets of opportunity.

13. (C) Senator Feingold asked for Juwono to explain the difficulties the government had experienced in outlawing the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) terror group. Juwono explained that JI had skillfully chosen its name -- which means "Islamic Community" and in the public mind includes all adherents of Islam worldwide -- making it difficult to outlaw the group. He added that authorities had in some instances acted against the group by applying the full/Arabic name "al jemal al islamyia." Juwono explained that a "huge problem" had resulted when some Islamic parties accused the U.S. of including all of the Islamic community as terrorists and considered all of Indonesia as a haven for terrorists. The Senator asked whether Indonesia had adequate legal tools to fight terrorism. Juwono replied that the country's terror law and criminal code were sufficient for the task.

TNI's Territorial Command Structure

14. (C) Senator Feingold asked Juwono to explain the functions of the Indonesian Armed Forces' (TNI) territorial command structure. Juwono said that President Yudhoyono's decision to activate the role of TNI in the fight against terrorism reflected the roots of TNI in the fight for independence against the Dutch. The Army had followed a concept of "peoples' defense" in which each soldier was "part-and-parcel of the national defense." The current view remained that each soldier should look after the defense of the country. This concept had formerly been called "dwi

fungsi." Senator Feingold asked whether concern existed that as the military became involved in the fight against terrorism it would become involved again in internal security. Juwono said that Islamic parties in particular had expressed concern that this could pit the military against Islam. Senator Feingold asked how this concern could be addressed; Juwono said that the GOI would leave the fight against terrorism "first and foremost to the police," although even the police were concerned that in some areas it lacked the resources it required and needed to call on TNI for support. Senator Feingold asked whether confidence existed that TNI involvement could be limited. Juwono said that the police needed to take up slack at the local, regional and national level.

TNI's Business Interests

15. (C) Senator Feingold suggested that the issue of TNI financing had become ever more important and asked what percentage of TNI businesses had been sold. Juwono said that only some five percent of TNI's budget presently came from its businesses. Of TNI's 290 businesses, only five or six remained viable. The percentage of TNI's budget derived from its businesses had reached its highest level, some 70 percent, in the 1970s. Senator Feingold noted that this represented progress for Indonesia; Juwono agreed, but said that he now had responsibility for obtaining money from Parliament for TNI. Senator Feingold encouraged him to do so.

Accountability for Human Rights Abuses

16. (C) The Senator asked what the GOI was doing to address crimes against humanity and make officers accountable. Juwono responded that Indonesia continued to have "problems with the logistics of justice." Juwono insisted that the GOI did not lack the will to investigate and otherwise prosecute

suspected crimes, but the country did not have the resources to do so. He noted that Indonesia had stood up a human rights tribunal and achieved one conviction and several officers removed from service, but had not achieved a full accounting by U.S. standards. The Senator asked whether the Commission on Truth and Friendship (CTF) was going well and would achieve accountability. Juwono said East Timorese President Gusmao and President had met February 17 in Bali and had discussed the CTF. He said both countries sought through the CTF "recuperative justice, not punitive justice."

He noted an absence of vindictiveness and said the two sides would look forward but not forget the past. In that regard he noted that the East Timor government had indicated it wanted military-to-military relations with Indonesia.

Government Policy in Papua

17. (C) Senator Feingold said that one used to hear a great deal about Aceh and East Timor in Washington. He offered his congratulations to Juwono for the GOI success in achieving a settlement in the Aceh conflict, adding that this brought great relief in Washington. Now, however, one hears mostly about Papua in the U.S. He assured Juwono the U.S. supported the territorial integrity of Indonesia and did not support separatism in Papua. He observed, however, that problems did appear to exist in Papua -- from an influx of non-indigenous Papuans to heavy-handed tactics by Indonesian security forces. He asked Juwono to describe the GOI's strategy to problems in Papua.

18. (C) Juwono replied that Papua had a range of difficult problems, not limited to developmental issues. He explained that the province remained a "triple minority" with different religion, ethnicity and culture. Since 1962/63 when the province was transferred to Indonesia, ongoing problems persisted. Papuans did not want to join into modern society.

Juwono said he did not want to patronize Papuans, but the problems were real, resulting mostly from a cultural clash, and it would take a very long time for them to feel things are acceptable and that they were part of the Indonesian mainstream. Juwono noted that similarities could exist with the U.S. experience with native Americans in the 19th century. Senator Feingold asked Juwono if he acknowledged

that abuses occurred in Papua. Juwono replied yes, that individual TNI commanders and NCOs and INP personnel commit abuses.

19. (C) The Ambassador asked what Juwono thought might be the right balance between TNI and INP. Juwono replied that Papua, approximately the size of California, had 2 million inhabitants. The GOI had approximately 13,000 security forces in the province in terrain that was very demanding, with many very isolated locations. The Senator asked how, then, the GOI would balance the province's many needs -- security, development, human rights. Juwono said that the Police and TNI were the "only usable nation-building entities" the GOI had in Papua. He said that the GOI was attempting to recruit Papuans to the police, government, and other GOI positions, and was training medical personnel.

Press Access Restrictions in Papua

110. (C) Senator Feingold said that he had spoken to FM Wirajuda of his concerns regarding the lack of access to the press in Papua (septel), and would raise his concerns with President Yudhoyono when they met. It was bad for Indonesia's image and bad for the GOI's ability to solve problems in Papua. He urged that the GOI make its Papua policy more transparent and Papua itself accessible. Juwono said that he had very recently spoken to the Foreign Correspondents Club in Jakarta and members of the press had asked to be allowed to travel to Papua. Juwono said that Indonesia needed to strike a balance between international human rights concerns and national sovereignty. If journalists are allowed to travel to Papua they would have

great influence. They would become a "magnet for desperate groups of Papuans" because their stories could become a "good scoop" for the journalists. Juwono asked the Senator to please understand that Indonesia needed to "strike a balance." Senator Feingold replied that he respected Juwono's views, but was nevertheless concerned that Papua was a "hidden world."

Timika Case

¶11. (C) Senator Feingold asked about the Timika case, in which two Americans were killed in 2004, and said he was pleased that INP had made arrests in the case. Juwono said he wanted to assure the Senator that the Ministry of Defense would cooperate in the prosecution of the suspects. The Senator asked if TNI members would be brought to justice if they were found to have involvement in the murders. Juwono replied they would, and noted that the government was currently in the process of passing a law that would allow TNI personnel to be tried in civilian courts. He noted that it "comes back to the issue of the logistics of justice" and possessing adequate assets and logistics on the ground to investigate cases.

The Global War on Terrorism

¶12. (C) Senator Feingold asked how the U.S. was doing in the fight on terrorism and how the war in Iraq affected U.S. relations with Indonesia. Juwono said that the war caused problems in terms of the perception of Indonesians. The Senator asked if the war had resulted in antagonisms. Juwono replied it had, and in popular perceptions the war was seen as "a grab for oil." The Senator said he thought the U.S. had made a mistake with Iraq.

Bilateral Obstacles and Resentments

¶13. (C) The Senator asked for the main obstacles for improved bilateral relations. Juwono replied that obstacles had much to do with disparities in wealth and capabilities between the two countries. The Senator asked if this led to resentment. Juwono said it could, and noted that even in the UK, resentment toward the U.S. persisted. Senator Feingold asked how great the problems would be that were caused by the restrictions on military cooperation the U.S. had imposed for several years. Juwono replied that Indonesia "can get over

its resentment," and added that a strong reservoir of good will remained, as many officers and non-commissioned officers had studied in the U.S. Resentment over past restrictions was not a big problem, he concluded.

PASCOE